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The Rural Artistic Entrepreneur: Exploring Motivational Tension and Creative Production in Rural Economies

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Cet article étudie l'importance des motivations co-existantes et conflictuelles de la production créative au sein des espaces ruraux. La productivité financière de l'activité créative est examinée à des niveaux de tensions artistiques et économiques différents visibles lors de la création de l'art visuel. Dans cette situation, comme il est décrit dans « Art for Business » ou bien « Art for Art's », le paradoxe de Saké (Fillis, 2006) explique que le désir intrinsèque de s'engager dans un processus de créativité peut fonctionner mais s'oppose aux perspectives économiques telles que l'appréciation extrinsèque des récompenses obtenues du produit fini. L'importance d'équilibrer ces motivations co-existantes, comme démontré dans l'article, s'appuie sur un corpus croissant de littérature régionale qui considère les avantages économiques potentiels de soutenir l'entrepreneuriat créatif dans les régions rurales.

Les zones rurales témoignent d'un niveau d'activité créative élevé (Hargreaves, 2010) sans aucun facteurs physique et culturel, Florida (2002) indique qu'ils sont requis afin de soutenir la production créative. En effet, comme Markusen (2006) l'a démontré, ces lieux exposent un nombre important d'arts visuels comparé à d'autres activités créatives. Cette forme d'art est particulièrement adaptée à ce genre de zones car elle peut être réalisée seule et demande moins de ressources urbaines telles qu'une haute connexion internet, des systèmes informatiques ou bien encore des machines. (Markusen & Johnson, 2006). Cependant ce type d'art reste moins visible que les secteurs créatifs plus viables économiquement parlant et, par conséquent, comme l'a reconnu Hargreaves (2010), le potentiel économique de l'art reste ambigu.

Ce manque apparent de reconnaissance pour l'art visuel peut, en parti, être causé par les faibles niveaux de revenu observés sur l'ensemble de ce secteur. Par exemple, en 2005, le revenu individuel moyen perçu sur l'année était inférieur à 10,000£ et ce pour presque la moitié de tous ces entrepreneurs créatifs (Fillis & McAuley, 2005). Ces chiffres suggèrent que, même si ces entrepreneurs peuvent à la fois manifester leur motivation artistique et leur motivation économique, comme le montrent les études d'Hirschman (1983), Fillis & McAuley (2005) et Mills (2011), ils permettent à leur motivation artistique de dominer la production créative. De ce point de vue, ces entrepreneurs semblent privilégier le mode de vie plutôt que d'axer leurs priorités sur le profit, qui est une caractéristique des entreprises opérant dans les espaces ruraux. Il y a, cependant, ceux qui gagnent considérablement plus pour leur travail créatif et qui valorisent aussi bien le profit que l'épanouissement personnel. Cela a été démontré dans le Rapport du Conseil de l'Artisanat de 2012 (BOP Consulting) qui a révélé que 11% des personnes travaillant dans le secteur des arts visuels réalisaient un chiffre d'affaire supérieur à 30,000£ par an. Ces chiffres indiquent que tous les entrepreneurs créatifs ne perçoivent pas les motivations intrinsèques et extrinsèques de la même manière et que certaines approches par conséquent, peuvent être plus efficaces que d'autres.

Dans cet article, le cadre de la motivation intrinsèque et extrinsèque (Amabile, Hill, Hennessey & Tighe, 1994) ainsi que la théorie de l'auto-détermination (Deci & Ryan, 2002) sont utilisés afin d'identifier les motivations paradoxales des entrepreneurs artistiques opérant dans les zones rurales. La motivation intrinsèque décrit une collection de stimuli qui incite à s'engager dans l'accomplissement d'une tâche, alors que la motivation extrinsèque, elle, inclut la nécessité de récompenses externes, des contraintes de temps, le désir de reconnaissance, de la compétition ou bien une perte d'autonomie (Amabile, Hadley & Kramer, 2002). La façon dont un individu régule ces conditions externes peut être perçu comme « la réglementation motivationnelle introjectée, identifiée et intégrée » que l'on trouve dans la théorie de l'auto-détermination (Deci & Ryan, 2002:301). Par conséquent, certains entrepreneurs artistiques peuvent être motivés intrinséquement afin d'assouvir leur satisfaction personnelle mais sont aussi capables d'accepter, et parfois même d'intérioriser, des facteurs externes à différents niveaux. Dans ces circonstances, ces artistes ne perçoivent pas la récompense extrinsèque comme une contrainte ou une perte de contrôle (Amabile & Pillemer, 2012) et peuvent, par conséquent, équilibrer à la fois les tensions artistiques et économiques dans la production créative.

Une approche basée sur des méthodes mixtes est alors appliquée à cette recherche. Ainsi, les méthodes quantitatives sont utilisées afin d'identifier le nombre d'entrepreneurs artistiques tandis que les méthodes qualitatives, quant à elles, sont utilisées afin d'identifier comment ces

entrepreneurs vivent la motivation intrinsèque et extrinsèque et équilibrent les tensions et les contradictions entre elles. Un plan intégré séquentiel (Greene, 2007), dans lequel est collecté tout d'abord les données quantitatives qui, par la suite, vont fournir un rôle de soutien aux données qualitatives, est donc suivi. Les stratégies de motivation et d'équilibrage sont alors identifiées, analysées et interprétées à travers une analyse thématique (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Les résultats des recherches identifient les quatre facteurs motivationnels principaux pour les entrepreneurs artistiques qui sont : le résultat, la reconnaissance, l'épanouissement personnel et le mode de vie. Afin d'harmoniser ces perspectives, trois stratégies d'équilibrage sont mises en évidence, produisant : une satisfaction élevée et un faible revenu, une satisfaction moyenne et un revenu plus élevé ou bien une faible satisfaction et un revenu moyen. Ces stratégies sont utilisées par les entrepreneurs artistiques afin d'obtenir de la production de l'art visuel à la fois une satisfaction personnelle et une compensation financière. Elles sont présentées dans le paragraphe de conclusion de cet article afin de mettre en relation les stratégies rurales actuelles, pour considérer comment l'investissement dans ces stratégies qui équilibrent efficacement la tension motivationnelle, peut contribuer aux économies rurales.

This paper explores the significance of co-existing and conflicting motives in creative production within rural areas. The financial productiveness of creative activity is investigated in the varying levels of artistic and economic tension seen in the creation of visual art. In this situation, as described in the 'art for business' or 'art for art's' sake paradox (Fillis, 2006) the intrinsic desire to engage in the creative process may work in opposition to economic perspectives, such as an extrinsic appreciation of rewards gained from the finished product. The importance of balancing these co-existing motives, as demonstrated in this paper, builds upon a growing body of regional literature that considers potential economic benefit of supporting creative entrepreneurship in rural regions.

Rural areas evidence a high level of creative activity (Hargreaves, 2010) without the physical and cultural factors Florida (2002) indicates are required to sustain creative production. In fact, as shown by Markusen (2006), these locations exhibit high levels of visual art in comparison to other creative activity. This art-form is particularly suited to such areas because it can be completed alone and requires fewer urban resources, such as high-speed internet, computer systems or machinery (Markusen & Johnson, 2006). However, it remains less visible than more economically viable creative sectors and therefore, as acknowledged by Hargreaves (2010), the economic potential of visual art remains ambiguous.

This apparent lack of acknowledgement for visual art may, in part, be caused by the low income levels witnessed by this sector overall. For example, in 2005 individual income averaged less than £10,000 per annum for almost half of all these creative entrepreneurs (Fillis & McAuley, 2005). Such figures suggest that although these entrepreneurs may demonstrate both artistic and economic motives, as shown in studies by Hirschman (1983), Fillis & McAuley (2005) and Mills (2011), they allow the former to dominate creative production. In this respect, these entrepreneurs appear to pursue lifestyle rather than profit-driven priorities characteristic of enterprises operating within rural areas. There are, however, those who earn considerably more for their creative work and value profit as well as personal fulfilment. This was demonstrated in the 2012 Crafts Council report (BOP Consulting) which found that 11% of those operating within the visual arts sector achieved a turnover in excess of £30,000 per annum. These figures indicate that not all artistic entrepreneurs balance extrinsic and intrinsic motives in the same way and that some approaches may be more successful than others.

In this paper the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation framework (Amabile, Hill, Hennessey & Tighe, 1994) and self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2002) are used to identify the paradoxical motives experienced by artistic entrepreneurs operating in rural areas. Intrinsic motivation describes a collection of stimuli that provides the incentive to engage with the task at hand while extrinsic motivation includes evidence of external rewards, time pressures, a desire for recognition, competition or a loss of autonomy (Amabile, Hadley & Kramer, 2002). The way in which an individual regulates these external conditions can be seen in 'introjected, identified and

integrated motivational regulation' within self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2002:301). Therefore some artistic entrepreneurs may be intrinsically motivated to achieve personal satisfaction but are also able to accept, and sometimes internalise, external factors at different levels. In these circumstances, these artists do not perceive extrinsic reward as a constraint or loss of control (Amabile & Pillemer, 2012) and can therefore balance both artistic and economic tension in creative production

A mixed methods approach is applied to this research. Quantitative methods are used to identify artistic entrepreneurs while qualitative methods are used to identify how they experience intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and balance the tensions and contradictions between these. A sequential embedded design (Greene, 2007) is followed in which the quantitative data is collected first and provides a supportive role to the qualitative data. Motives and balancing strategies are identified, analysed and interpreted through thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Findings identify the four main motivational factors for such artistic entrepreneurs as: income, recognition, self-fulfilment and lifestyle. In order to balance these perspectives three main balancing strategies are evidenced, producing high satisfaction and lower income, medium satisfaction and higher income and low satisfaction and medium income. These strategies are used by artistic entrepreneurs to gain both personal satisfaction and financial reward from the production of visual art. They are presented in the concluding section of this paper in relation to current rural strategies, to consider how investment in those who effectively balance motivational tension can contribute to rural economies.

Introduction

This research investigates the way in which artistic entrepreneurs located in the rural sub-regions of Wales achieve a balance between co-existing and conflicting motives to operate financially viable enterprises. Previous studies have identified the existence of both intrinsic and extrinsic motives within the visual arts (Hirschman, 1983; Ripple, 1998; Fillis & McAuley, 2005) in, for example, the need to both earn an income and gain self-fulfilment from creative work. Intrinsic motives concern the desire to engage with a task rather than reach the expected goal while extrinsic motives relate to factors influencing an individual's actions, attitude or behaviour, thus allowing them to reach their end goal. The strategies used by artistic entrepreneurs to balance both artistic and economic tension have, however, received little previous attention. These strategies are investigated in this study to consider whether particular approaches yield higher levels of commercial success. This is considered within a locational context, where increasing numbers of artistic entrepreneurs operating in visual art have been identified in rural areas (Markusen, 2006; McGranahan & Wojan, 2007, Luckman 2012), therefore identifying the potential contribution rural artistic entrepreneurs may make to areas of low economic output.

Artistic entrepreneurs are identified in this study as sole-traders operating within the area of visual art and craft who earn 21% or more of their income from the sale of their artwork. The necessity to sell artwork therefore requires a balance between artistic and economic requirements, as identified by Fillis (2006) in the 'art for business' or 'art for art's' sake paradox. These artists are entrepreneurial in their need to earn an income from their produce, yet often remain true to their art-form, sacrificing a higher income to maintain particular artistic quality which contributes towards greater personal fulfilment which is gained from creative production. They are similar to Deresiewicz's (2015) 'creative entrepreneurs', for these artists producing becomes the experience which is presented, alongside the process of creating 'handmade' work, as a lifestyle choice. Unlike the 'creative entrepreneurs' however, these entrepreneurs operate specifically within the 'artistic' area of visual art and craft, a sector characterised by low profit-margins (BOP Consulting, 2012) and often evidenced in rural locations (Markusen & Johnson, 2006). This makes the study of motivational tension in artistic entrepreneurs particularly pertinent for areas of low economic growth within the UK, such as Mid and West Wales, Devon, Dorset, Cumbria and Cornwall.

Evidence of opposing tensions can be seen in studies involving self-employed artists, such as those conducted by Hirschman (1983), the Ripple producer survey (1998), Fillis (2006) and Mills (2011). Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) describe different types of work in which these tensions may be balanced or unbalanced in their description of good cultural work and, conversely, bad cultural work. The former produces decent pay, interesting work and autonomy, leading to a fulfilling work-life balance; the latter provides little balance between such tensions, producing poor pay, boredom and isolation. However, while tensions clearly exist, little is known about the strategies used to create a balance between conflicting motives, and how these may impact upon the financial success of their enterprise. For example, in Mills' (2011) investigation into freelance designers, the requirement to balance both artistic and economic needs was described as the creativity-business tension, where designers appeared to prioritise gaining either self-fulfilment or income from work, yet required both to remain within the industry. In the majority of studies those operating within visual art and craft are seen to prioritise self-fulfilment, accepting a reduction in income. These artists would, therefore, be described by Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010) as producing bad cultural work because they do not achieve reasonable financial reward. This was found in the Ripple producer survey (1998), where conflicting tensions were visible within the identification of the 'commercial producer', who created work that they knew would sell, and the 'artisanal producer', who created work for their own aesthetic taste and self-fulfilment. While all those in the Ripple survey earned an income from their creative work, the majority were located within the artisanal grouping. This indicates that, for the majority, artistic needs were prioritised over economic gain. Further evidence of this can be found in the low

income received for visual art and craft work. For example, in 2005 the turnover for this sector in the UK was estimated to be around £1 billion, yet individual income averaged less than £10,000 per annum for almost half of all visual artists and craftspeople (Fillis & McAuley, 2005), demonstrating the popularity but low income potential of this sector. It would appear, therefore, that the majority of artistic entrepreneurs create a balance between conflicting extrinsic and intrinsic tensions by allowing intrinsic motives to dominate creative production, therefore pursuing personal fulfilment rather than profit-driven priorities, thus achieving low profit margins.

This is not, however, representative of the visual arts and crafts population as a whole. There are some who earn considerably more for their creative work and value profit as well as personal fulfilment. This was demonstrated in the 2012 Crafts Council report (BOP Consulting, 2012), which found that 11% of those operating within the visual arts sector achieved a turnover in excess of £30,000 per annum. It was also confirmed in research by Cowen and Tabarrok (2000), in which artists were found to desire profit, fame and critical praise, as well as satisfaction from producing work. This suggests that not all artistic entrepreneurs balance extrinsic and intrinsic motives in the same way, and that some strategies may be more commercially successful than others.

In this study self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2002) is used to highlight the ways in which an individual is able to regulate external conditions, such as the need for income and a desire for recognition (Amabile, Hadley & Kramer, 2002) and intrinsic desires through 'introjected, identified and integrated motivational regulation' (Deci & Ryan, 2002 : 301). This offers an explanation as to why some artistic entrepreneurs may be intrinsically motivated to achieve personal satisfaction but are also able to accept, and sometimes internalise, external factors at different levels. In these circumstances, artists do not perceive extrinsic reward as a constraint or loss of control (Amabile & Pillemer, 2012) and can therefore balance both artistic and economic tension in creative production. Results identify four main motivational factors and three main strategies adopted by artistic entrepreneurs to achieve varying financial success in their creative enterprise. These are used to consider the need for investment in rural creative enterprise in order to support those who effectively balance motivational tension to make a significant contribution to rural economies.

1. Review of Literature

An overview of the rural context in which rural artistic entrepreneurs operate is discussed below, followed by the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation framework (Amabile, Hill, Hennessey & Tighe, 1994) and self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2002). These are used to identify the conflicting motives experienced by artistic entrepreneurs operating in rural areas.

1.1 The Creative Context: The Rural Regions of Mid and West Wales

Rural areas within the UK, such as Ceredigion, Cornwall, Devon and Dorset are characterised by an outward migration of younger workers, low opportunities and low income levels (Midmore & Thomas, 2006). These areas demonstrate significant deprivation with some of the most challenging socio-economic conditions in the UK. For example, earnings in Cumbria are estimated to be 12.3% below the national average (Scott, 2010) and the continuous economic decline of Cornwall through the latter 20th century has created high rates of outward migration in this area (Bosworth & Willett, 2011). It could be argued that these localities constitute distinct peripheral sub-regions, as they demonstrate low levels of economic activity in comparison to the rest of the UK and have undergone structural changes in employment due to the declines in agriculture, fishing and mining. This can be seen in Cornwall, where the last working tin mine closed in 1998 (Meethan, 1998), and in Cumbria, where reliance on upland sheep farming is continually decreasing (Scott, 2010). The decline of industry in these areas has been replaced with growing numbers of small businesses set up by older in-migrants and self-employed workers

(Bosworth & Willett, 2011) who are often involved in creative production (Cornwall Council, 2012).

Those operating within visual arts and crafts are, for example, attracted to these areas (Huggins & Clifton, 2011) demonstrating a potentially untapped economic resource for rural regions. Rural locations demonstrate few of the attributes Florida (2002) identifies as necessary for creative hubs, such as openness, diversity and innovation (Midmore & Thomas, 2006) but evidence a higher proportion of visual art and craft than their respective urban counterparts (Huggins and Clifton, 2011). Rather than attracting high-growth activity, as exhibited by Florida's 'creative class', rural areas attract a higher number of artist entrepreneurs operating in creative core sectors who describe this preference as a trade-off between where artistic or commercial opportunities may be found and achieving a particular quality of life (Markusen, 2006). As Luckman (2012) notes, achieving this quality of life is as much about the location in which artistic entrepreneurs operate as it is the work they create. Luckman's rural creative practitioners produce self-fulfilling work which also supports their lifestyle through an emotional connection to the physical location they work within, thereby producing good cultural work (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010) of economic value. Visual art and craft has been identified by Markusen and Johnson (2006) as particularly suited to rural areas because this type of creative production can be completed alone and requires fewer urban resources, such as high-speed internet, computer systems or machinery. In this respect, rural artistic entrepreneurs are able to successfully navigate the barriers contributing towards outward migration so that they may choose locations based on the quality of the experience offered by that particular location, rather than the resources available. This community lifestyle is recognised by the Economic Futures for Wales report by the Welsh Assembly Government (Economic Research Advisory Panel, 2010) as an increasingly important factor in business location choice, emphasising the potential importance of rural artistic entrepreneurs to enhancing the economy of such regions.

Difficulties remain, however, in recognising such opportunities given the low profit margin achieved by the majority of those operating in the visual art and craft sector specifically. While Luckman (2012) suggests that growth is possible, even in rural areas, not all creative activities currently demonstrate this. Rural economies in general do not identify visual arts activity as having the potential to contribute to regional development. This is because, while there has been an increase in artistic entrepreneurs operating in rural areas, the economy of these areas has seen little benefit from this type of enterprise. Both those working within rural locations and those working within the visual arts sector are likely to receive low income levels, suggesting that while artists may achieve the quality of life they desire, they may not be seen as generating high income levels from this and, therefore, are not considered to produce good cultural work (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010).

The exception to this can be seen in the case of Cornwall. This county in particular has been increasingly committed to the creative industries since 1999, with total Objective One investment of £43 million, £10 million of which was committed to business and skills development programmes (The Creative Unit, 2008). The Arts Council has placed a major emphasis on improving the infrastructure for this sector in Cornwall to generate inspiration and raise the standard of small arts businesses. Here, the aim is for a greater visibility for artists within an international arena to increase export potential (The Creative Unit, 2008). For example, the recent Made to Trade scheme has helped artists in Cornwall become more trade ready, then orchestrated collective national showcasing opportunities. Those involved evidenced direct benefits, achieving an increase in turnover within four months of engagement, followed by a continued increase in sales and trade enquiries (The Creative Unit, 2008). Wales, in comparison, has seen no such similar investment. In the rural areas of Wales, workers earn at least 8% less than those in urban areas (Jones, 2004) and in 2000 the gross annual income received for visual art overall in Wales was amongst the lowest in the arts and creative industries (Bryan, Hill, Munday & Roberts, 2000). Therefore, while rural artistic entrepreneurs are attracted to rural regions, without governmental support and investment they do not currently demonstrate a strong ability to generate a higher

than average income for the location and are, instead, representative of those already operating enterprises in these areas. Rural economies therefore, appear to be lagging behind (Huggins & Clifton, 2011). While they may recognise the community lifestyle of enterprises operating within these locations, they do not recognise strategies adopted by these entrepreneurs to balance artistic and economic requirements, or offer support to enhance creative production. This can be seen, for example, in the Wales Spatial Plan (Welsh Assembly Government, 2008) which acknowledges the unique distinctiveness of each sub-region in Wales and the potential of the arts to indirectly stimulate growth, but does not focus on visual art activity. Instead, as evidenced in the 2014-2020 Rural Development Programme for Wales (Welsh Assembly Government, 2015), support for rural enterprise is primarily concerned with enhancing farm viability and the competitiveness of agriculture (Welsh Assembly Government, 2015).

Those working within the visual arts sector in Wales are, therefore, under-represented in regional strategies, as the sector does not appear to receive a level of investment in proportion to the number of those working within this industry in rural areas, as identified by Bryan, Hill, Munday & Roberts (2000). While some rural artistic entrepreneurs may demonstrate the financial potential to contribute to enhancing the rural economy, the visual arts and craft sector overall is seen as a low profit generating activity. It appears therefore, that the 'one size fits all approach' (Oakley, 2011) applied to the principle of creative policymaking across the UK creates a barrier to further support for what appears to be underperforming creative sectors, and therefore ultimately the development of successful visual arts and crafts enterprises in rural areas.

1.2. Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivators

Motives can be grouped broadly into the areas of extrinsic reward and intrinsic experience in terms of their focus on the end goal (reward) or involvement in the task (experience). Intrinsic motivation is often seen as the strongest form of motivation and describes a collection of stimuli which provide the incentive to carry out a particular task. It is commonly associated with artistic activity and is seen as a strong form of engagement with the creative act. This has been demonstrated in previous studies, seen in both the stonemasons which Yarrow and Jones studied (2014) and the writers which Paton studied (2012). Evidence of intrinsic motivation within artists can also be seen in the 'lifestyler' and 'idealist' creative orientations identified by Fillis (2009), the 'self-orientated creator' identified by Hirschman (1983) and the 'artisanal producer' identified in the Ripple producer survey (1998). Here, involvement in creative production was undertaken for the enjoyment or satisfaction gained from the act itself.

In contrast to this, extrinsic motivation includes evidence of external rewards, time pressures, a desire for recognition, competition or a loss of autonomy (Amabile, Hadley & Kramer, 2002). Previous studies have identified both reward and recognition as important to artists, particularly in situations where the artist must adopt both a creative and business identity (Cowen & Tabarrok, 2000). These motives can be seen within the 'peer-orientated creator' and 'commercially-orientated creator' in Hirschman's study (1983), the 'entrepreneur' in the study by Fillis (2009) and the 'commercial producer' in the Ripple producer survey (1998). For example, commercially-orientated creators, identified by Hirschman (1983), achieved recognition through monetary transactions. They produced work to sell and were therefore customer-focused. Like the commercial producers in the Ripple survey (1998) and the entrepreneurs in the Fillis (2009) study, they exhibited an understanding of business strategy and the need to appeal to customer taste to earn a living from their work, demonstrating also a drive to do this. In the case of the commercial producer (Ripple, 1998), the benefits derived from the product, rather than the creative process, presented a strong incentive to engage in creative work. Clearly extrinsic as well as intrinsic factors are experienced by, and are important to, those operating within the visual arts and crafts sector.

1.3 Co-existing and Conflicting Motives in Creative Production

While both extrinsic and intrinsic motives are experienced by visual artists and craftspeople, rather than operating independently they may co-exist in order to facilitate the production of visual art. This was the case in studies of artists by Amabile, Hill, Hennessey & Tighe (1994) where intrinsic and extrinsic motives were found to work positively together and can be seen also in Hesmondhalgh and Baker's (2010) description of good cultural work which requires artists to achieve both reasonable monetary reward and self-fulfilment. A similar situation was identified by Tregear (2003) who also found a broad range of intrinsic and extrinsic motives in the artists she studied. While the need for satisfaction from the creation of artwork was acknowledged in both, in the latter study the fundamental aim for artists was to ensure the ongoing existence of artwork. In addition, Cowen and Tabarrok (2000) identified that artists desire profit, fame and critical praise as well as the personal satisfaction of producing work. Hence, those who were able to earn a living from work were described as practical and operating in the real world.

The ability to do this, however, can be evidenced to different degrees. For example, in the Ripple survey (1998), there was a lack of complete distinction between the 'artisanal' and 'commercial' producers. Here, the majority of artists were situated within the artisanal category, desiring self-fulfilment from work, but were also likely to demonstrate some characteristics associated with the commercial producer which ensured the continuation of creative work. While the majority earned under £20,000 per annum, a few managed to achieve over £40,000 (Ripple, 1998). Amabile and Pillemer (2012) describe such situations, in which external reward is conducive to intrinsic motives, as those in which self-determination is not undermined. In these circumstances, both intrinsic and extrinsic motives are able to co-exist because individuals do not perceive extrinsic reward as a constraint, or a perceived loss of control. These can include reward and recognition for creative ideas, clearly defined overall project goals and frequent feedback. Therefore, external evaluation which is desired, rather than seen as a form of control or constraint, does not necessarily work in opposition to intrinsic desires; instead it allows the artist to balance artistic and economic requirements in the production of work.

1.4 Self-Determination Theory

The simultaneous existence of competing motives can be evidenced within the self-determination motivational continuum (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Here, extrinsic factors become integrated with an individual's own needs and therefore provide an alternative to self-fulfilment when intrinsic motives are thwarted (Deci & Ryan, 2002). Self-determination theory demonstrates how artists can be primarily intrinsically motivated to achieve personal satisfaction, but exhibit extrinsic motives in particular circumstances where intrinsic motives may be otherwise thwarted by external factors. It offers an explanation as to the different ways that they may be able to create work which they are paid for, ranging from the experience of resentment to the experience of acceptance.

This change in motivation and behaviour is found where a person temporarily acts in correspondence with short-term goals allowing artists, for example, to remain intrinsically motivated but desire short term extrinsic goals. The way in which an individual is able to regulate external conditions, to promote involvement and persistence in a given domain, is described in the self-determination continuum (table 1). In each of these cases, the extrinsic motive to engage in the given activity remains but the consequence of performance varies. Internalisation and integration are the processes through which extrinsically motivated behaviours become more self-determined.

Table 1: The Self-Determination Continuum with types of motivation and regulation (Deci & Ryan, 2002: 301)

Type of Motivation	A-motivation	Extrinsic Motivation	Intrinsic Motivation
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Type of regulation	Non – regulation	External Regulation	Introjected Regulation	Identified Regulation	Integrated Regulation	Intrinsic Regulation
Quality of behaviour	Non Self-determined					Self-

In integrated regulation, external requirements are synonymous with personal values, goals and needs that are already part of the self. Therefore, engagement in the activity is associated with a more positive experience. The external requirement remains extrinsic, because it is completed to attain an outcome rather than for inherent interest and enjoyment; however, this level of extrinsic motivation is the closest to intrinsic experience. In identified regulation, the action is completed because the outcome remains personally important; however, the external requirement is accepted as a conscious decision, rather than integrated into own beliefs or values and, therefore, may not represent the individual's overarching values in any given situation. In contrast, introjected regulation is not accepted as one's own. Instead, the activity is performed to avoid guilt or shame or to obtain some form of external recognition. In this case extrinsic requirement is based on what others value, rather than on what the individual may value. External regulation itself represents extrinsic as an antithesis to intrinsic motivation. Here, the individual is motivated to obtain rewards or avoid punishments only. The action that is completed bears no resemblance to the individual's own values and does not contribute towards the fulfilment of their own needs. Engagement is therefore unlikely to create a positive experience. In the final state, a-motivation is used to describe the lack of motive to complete an action. In this circumstance, the individual may not act at all or, instead, they act passively. Here, there is little or no motive to complete the activity and the individual feels unable to achieve an outcome or does not value this. These levels of motivation demonstrate how both intrinsic and extrinsic motivation can co-exist.

Where a conflict in motivation occurs, compensatory strategies are pursued to achieve a form of gratification within a regulatory environment. This creates the foundation and motivation for strategies used within the creative sector to both earn income and gain self-fulfilment from work. For example, Hirschman (1983) acknowledged that producers will create multiple products designed to fulfil different needs, such as to earn a living, achieve critical acclaim or for the self. A similar situation can be seen in the Ripple producer survey (1998) where artists pursue different strategies to create work for the self and earn an income for this. Despite this, there has been little research conducted to consider why a particular strategy is followed or how this may relate to artistic motives. This is important as it relates to the ability to maintain a sustainable profession in visual art.

1.5 Summary

Previous studies demonstrate that intrinsic and extrinsic motives can co-exist, and that artists may pursue economic as well as artistic gains. Artistic entrepreneurs located within visual arts and crafts sector, however, are seen as operating low profit enterprises based on artistic gain, where intrinsic motives dominate creative production. While they are able to navigate the economic and resource barriers rural locations present, rural artistic entrepreneurs are not currently recognised within rural economic regeneration policies as having the potential to enhance economic growth within these regions. Despite this, and as shown in previous studies, some rural artistic entrepreneurs operate financially successful businesses and therefore appear better able to balance co-existing motivational tensions for commercial gain. The relationship between the financial success of rural artistic entrepreneurs and the strategies they use to balance conflicting tensions is the focus of this study, considering whether, with governmental investment, these artists are in fact able to contribute towards the economy of rural regions.

2. Methods

A mixed methods approach was applied to this research. In the first stage questionnaires were used to identify artistic entrepreneurs. Questionnaire data was collected relating to age, gender, creative activity, annual income and the percentage of annual income received from the production of visual art and craft. This was followed by semi-structured interviews which were used to identify how artistic entrepreneurs experience intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and balance the tensions and contradictions between these. A sequential embedded design (Greene, 2007) was followed in which the quantitative data was collected first and provided a supportive role to the qualitative data. Motives and balancing strategies were then identified, analysed and interpreted through thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Approximately 300 questionnaires were distributed to visual artists and craftspeople within the Powys, Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire regions of Mid and West Wales. This was undertaken to identify rural artistic entrepreneurs operating within these locations. The regions of Powys, Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion and Pembrokeshire are described as rural by DEFRA (2004) because they contain settlements that are sparse or less sparse, have a settlement threshold size of below 10,000 and are characterised by rural hamlets, isolated dwellings and some rural villages (Office for National Statistics, 2012). Rural artistic entrepreneurs for this research were identified based upon their level of income made up from their creative activity, the type of creative work they produced and the location they worked within. They can be defined as: 'A craftsperson or visual artist who works within a rural location, producing visual art and craftwork which contributes 21% or more of their annual income'. 105 questionnaires were returned and, based upon these responses, 63 rural artistic entrepreneurs were identified. The remaining 42 responses were excluded from this research as they either did not earn 21% or more for their annual income, and therefore may be considered to be hobbyists rather than entrepreneurs, or did not work within the visual art and craft sector. From the 63 questionnaire responses received, 16 rural artistic entrepreneurs were interviewed. The interview selection process was based upon creative activity and annual income received for creative work, as shown in Tables 2, 3 and 4, to represent the demographic profile of the 63 artistic entrepreneurs identified in the questionnaire data.

Table 2: Demographic profile of artists interviewed who describe themselves as Craftspeople

Participant Identification	IR	JA	AW	VC	KC	YK	JF
Age in years	45-54	34-44	55-64	55-64	45-54	45-54	55-64
Gender	Male	Female	Female	Female	Female	Female	Male
Creative activity	Potter	Potter	Jeweller	Jeweller	Textile	Potter	Potter
Years worked in creative activity	20+	10-19	20+	20+	10-19	20+	20+
Other work	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Not detailed	Farm/B&B	Land rental
Annual income	0-£10,000	0-£10,000	£10,001 - £20,000	£30,001 - £40,000	0-£10,000	£10,001 - £20,000	£20,001 - £30,000

Table 3: Demographic profile for artists interviewed who describe themselves as Visual Artists

Participant Identification	DM	MC	ChL	GB	IP	RB
Age in years	45-54	55-64	65+	55-64	35-44	45-54
Gender	Female	Male	Female	Male	Male	Male

Creative activity	Painter	Painter	Painter	Illustrator	Screen printing	Photographer
Years worked in creative activity	10-19	10-19	20	10-19	10-19	10-19
Other work	N/A	Pensioner	Teacher	N/A	N/A	Farmer
Annual income	£20,001 - £30,000	£10,001- £20,000	0- £10,000	£20,001- £30,000	£10,001- £20,000	£10,001- £20,000

Table 4: Demographic profile for artists interviewed who described themselves as both Craftspeople and Visual Artists

Participant Identification	CL	BK	KD
Age in year	35-44	45-54	55-64
Gender	Female	Female	Male
Creative activity	Design/maker: Potter	Textile Artist	Woodwork
Years worked in creative activity	10-19	20+	20+
Other work	N/A	Teach/ WS	Not specified
Annual income	0-£10,000	0-£10,000	£20,001- £30,000

The analysis of the interviews involved the six phase method of thematic analysis recommended by Braun and Clarke (2006) to identify the motives experienced by rural artistic entrepreneurs. The process involved the identification and description of intrinsic and extrinsic motives, followed by an interpretation of these, using self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2002) to highlight ways in which these artistic entrepreneurs balance co-existing and conflicting motives. Once themes were identified and interpreted, an analysis of the interviewees who experienced these in each particular way was undertaken. This involved multi-variable analysis (Miles, Huberman and Saldana, 2014), using data from both the interview and demographic data from the questionnaire survey, to identify the potential relationship between income and strategies used to balance conflicting motives.

3. Findings and Discussion

Four distinct themes were identified as the main motives for rural artistic entrepreneurs to engage in creative work; these were: income, recognition, self-fulfilment and lifestyle choice. Income was found to be an extrinsic motivator while self-fulfilment was purely intrinsic; recognition and lifestyle choice were placed between these two opposing motives on the self-determination continuum (Deci & Ryan, 2002), located in the integrated and identified motivation type.

In terms of recognition, these entrepreneurs described situations in which they were motivated by attaining recognition from industry peers within the art world, and those in which they were motivated to obtain recognition from customers or members of the public, in some form of response to the work. This was required either as a way to demonstrate or reinforce value for their work and, therefore, their identity as an artist, or as an incentive to continue production. Rural artistic entrepreneurs also described being motivated to engage in creative work as part of a lifestyle choice. This was explained in relation to a preference for a particular quality of life and autonomy over day to day tasks. In the former case, creative work was described as a self-sufficient means to ensure the continuation of a particular lifestyle; in the latter case, creative work allowed participants to be in control of their day-to-day tasks.

Income and self-fulfilment motives appeared to be the motives which produced the greatest level of conflict. Self-fulfilment was described through a particular level of engagement, leading to varying levels of feeling ownership for the product. This could be seen in the extent to which rural artistic entrepreneurs were willing to alter their work to facilitate a sale. Income was described in three ways: necessary but not necessarily conflicting with self-fulfilment in the drive to earn an income; equal to the need for self-fulfilment, in the desire to gain both enjoyment and income from work; and, finally, as a barrier to self-fulfilment by limiting creativity. Both the income and self-fulfilment motive were interpreted using self-determination theory and used to identify the three strategies rural artistic entrepreneurs use to balance artistic and economic requirements to produce creative work.

3.1 Strategies used by Rural Artistic Entrepreneurs to Balance Conflicting Motives

Three strategies to balancing artistic and economic requirements were identified (table 5). These were described as Reduced strategies, in which artistic entrepreneurs achieved high satisfaction but lower income; Disharmonious strategies, where artistic entrepreneurs achieved low satisfaction and medium income; and, finally, Harmonious strategies in which artistic entrepreneurs achieved medium satisfaction and higher income. Those who were the most commercially successful pursued Harmonious strategies to balancing conflicting motives. These artistic entrepreneurs achieved optimum production, earning up to £40,000 per annum for their creative work. Those not achieving commercial success, earning under £10,000 per annum for their creative work, did not appear to balance these motives successfully and, instead, exhibited Reduced strategies. This demonstrates a connection between financial success and the ability to balance economic and artistic motives in the production of visual art and craft.

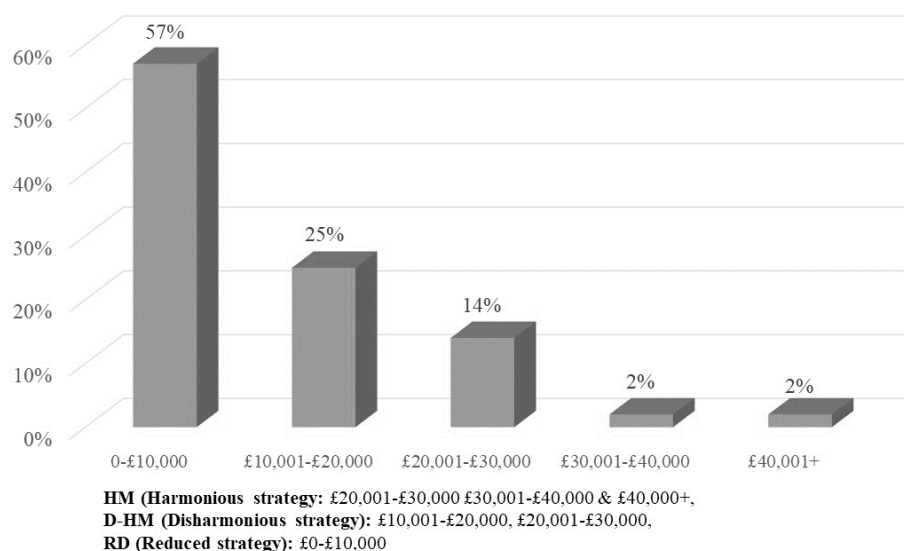
Table 5: Strategies identified to balancing artistic and economic requirements alongside associated demographic data

Reduced (RD) high satisfaction and lower income	Disharmonious (D-HM) low satisfaction and medium income	Harmonious (HM) medium satisfaction and higher income (optimum production)
Create work to sell and work for self and have additional part-time work	Create work to sell which is in opposition to own taste. Creative work provides main/sole income	Create single saleable type of work which also provides self-fulfilment. Creative work provides main/sole income.
Motivated to both earn an income (extrinsic motivation) and enjoy work (Intrinsic motivation – satisfaction)	The need to earn income limits creative freedom	Motivated to earn an income from work
Gain high levels of satisfaction from creative work	Gain low levels of satisfaction from work. Creating work is a struggle	Gain medium levels of satisfaction from work
Create work and then find the right market	Creating or alter work to encourage sales	Creating or alter work to encourage sales
The majority earn under £10,000 per annum for creative work	The majority earn between £10,001 and £20,000 for creative work	The majority earn between £10,001 and £40,000 for creative work
No specific age range, between 34-64 years	The majority aged between 34-54 years	The majority aged between 55 - 64 years

No specific length of time involved in creative work	The majority have been involved in creative work for between 10-19 years	The majority have been involved in creative work for 20 years or over
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The majority of the sample population earned £10,000 or below per annum for their creative work, while only 18% earned over £20,000 and, of these, 4% achieved an income of over £30,001 or more. This indicates that, as shown in previous studies by Fillis and McAuley (2005) and the 2012 Crafts Council report (BOP Consulting, 2012), the majority of rural artistic entrepreneurs earn a low income for creative work (figure 1). Those who were the most commercially successful pursued Harmonious strategies to balancing conflicting motives. These artistic entrepreneurs achieved optimum production, earning up to £40,000 per annum for their creative work. Those not achieving commercial success, earning under £10,000 per annum for their creative work, did not appear to balance these motives successfully and, instead, exhibited Reduced strategies.

Figure 1: Annual income of Rural Artistic Entrepreneurs



3.2 Reduced strategy to balancing conflicting motives

Rural artistic entrepreneurs who demonstrated the Reduced strategy to balancing motives experienced a desire to earn an income and gain enjoyment from their work and achieved a high level of satisfaction from their work. Unlike those who demonstrated Harmonious strategies, they retained another source of income or produced different types of artwork. In the former, artists had additional income including teaching, farm income or bed and breakfast; in the latter they produced souvenir-type work to sell and additional work specifically for the pleasure gained from creating it. There was no specific age or length of time these entrepreneurs had been involved in their creative activity. For the majority, however, the production of artwork was not their main income source.

For these entrepreneurs the need to gain enjoyment from work was just as important, or equal to, the need to earn an income.

For example: “I do like to sell my work, but I’ve realised that isn’t the total reason, because I probably wouldn’t be doing it. I just love making.”

Rather than create work that appealed both to customer taste and own values, some described the need to produce both work to sell and work they gained pleasure from, or to undertake additional work to supplement creative income. In this respect, integrated regulation was seen (Deci & Ryan, 2002) where creative work was produced directly for pleasure.

In the majority of situations, those who demonstrated the reduced strategy to balancing motives described creating work primarily for their own self-fulfilment, which they then hoped to sell. In this respect, they experienced a high level of satisfaction, seen in the high level of ownership they felt for the work they produced and low level of customer intervention in the creative process. Selling work was a secondary concern.

“So if I make the clarinet ok or whatever I go and make; the problem is not necessarily the object that I’ve made ... the problem will be finding the place where it should be where people will buy it or appreciate it.”

In these instances, producing work was directly related to the artistic entrepreneurs own intrinsic values, allowing these to dominate over external requirements.

“I like this new line teapot; I think it’s going to be good, I don’t know if it’s going to be any good in terms of the thing itself. To me it’s a success and that is great.”

Therefore, self-fulfilment was achieved through personal satisfaction with the product, rather than the sale.

3.3 Disharmonious strategy to balancing conflicting motives

Rural artistic entrepreneurs who demonstrated the Disharmonious strategy to balancing motives experienced the need to earn an income as limiting their creativity. They also gained a low level of satisfaction from their work. In these circumstances, the conflict between making work that rural artistic entrepreneurs could earn a living from and work that allowed for more experimentation appeared to be a barrier, rather than a motive; in this respect they could be described as producing bad cultural work (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010). The majority of these entrepreneurs were younger than those who demonstrated Harmonious strategies and had been involved in their creative activity for a shorter period of time. The production of artwork was their main or sole income source.

The need to earn an income was important for these entrepreneurs but seen as a limitation to creative potential:

“There is a bit of a treadmill in that I have to keep, I have to keep having exactly...exhibitions in the right places and producing the right kind of work. So, if I just wanted to go off and try something completely different, to experiment or develop a slightly different technique, then it’s finding the time to that within the confines of producing work for shows to sell the work and the risk of doing something that won’t sell that probably prevents you from taking too big a leap, or too big a risk. If you suddenly turned up at an exhibition with ten completely different types of pictures and you didn’t sell anything then that would be a kind of problem.”

In these cases introjected regulation (Deci & Ryan, 2002) was evidenced, as artistic entrepreneurs were less able to reconcile personal values with financial reward. Instead, and as shown in the excerpt above, the sale of work encouraged them to create this piece again even though it did not produce the satisfaction they desired. These entrepreneurs appeared unable to create a balance between intrinsic and extrinsic motives so instead the need to earn an income became a constraint, creating a barrier to producing creative work.

Rural artistic entrepreneurs who demonstrated the Disharmonious strategy experienced a low level of satisfaction with their work, allowing a high level of customer intervention in the creative process. Unlike those who demonstrated the Harmonious strategy, these entrepreneurs did not have a cut-off point at which they would decline sales. Instead work was altered to satisfy customer taste, even if it was not in keeping with their own tastes or artistic judgement, demonstrating extrinsic motivation:

“You try and make it as nice a picture as you possibly can, but you have to make sure that it’s a true illustration of what they are half the time they know exactly what they want and I’m happy to fulfil their expectations rather than try to perhaps take what would be a better photograph.”

In extreme cases, this production resulted in alienated self (Deci & Ryan, 2002), the state in which the entrepreneur produced work but did not put any part of themselves into it.

“If they’re paying for it, they have as much as they want is the answer. You just have to, like with anything, somebody’s paying you to do it you just grit your teeth and go with it don’t you ... most of the time it doesn’t have your name on...”

In these circumstances, the lack of harmony between the product and the entrepreneurs’ values created a visible reduction in the level of self-fulfilment obtained.

3.4 Harmonious strategy to balancing conflicting motives

Rural artistic entrepreneurs who demonstrated the Harmonious strategy to balancing motives experienced a drive to earn income and a medium levels of satisfaction from their work. In this respect they can be described as producing good cultural work (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2010) in one single, saleable type of work. They were also older, the majority had been involved in their creative activity for a longer period of time and the production of artwork was their main or sole income source.

These entrepreneurs viewed their work as a business:

“I mean, this business I consider the product of the process I’m going through to be something that has got to be saleable and, as such, there is no point in doing something that is unlikely to sell, or something that someone is not likely to want.”

The ability to sell this work reinforced their justification for describing themselves as an artist or craftsperson. This meant that creating commercially appealing products was aligned to their own personal values and goals. Overall, the result was a positive creative experience and, in this respect, identified regulation was evidenced (Deci & Ryan, 2002): external requirement remained extrinsic, but was closely aligned to intrinsic experience. For these rural artistic entrepreneurs external reward was acknowledged and accepted rather than simply being seen as a means to an end, so intrinsic motivation was not undermined (Amabile & Pillemer, 2012).

Those pursuing a Harmonious strategy demonstrated a medium level of satisfaction which was identified in the level of ownership they felt for the work they produced. They acknowledged the need to sell or gain recognition for their work and were, therefore, willing to make changes to products to facilitate sales, but only up to a certain point. In this way, they were able to create harmony between pleasing the customer and creating a product that remained a good fit with their own aesthetics:

“Rather than trying to accommodate my customers, I always want them to understand that they came, in the first place, because they liked what they saw and that was my choice, and

if they come in and change something until it becomes not agreeable with my own aesthetics anymore, then that is the point at which I have to decline their request.”

The cut-off point appeared to be the departure from identified regulation (Deci & Ryan, 2002); the time at which they no longer experienced autonomy in the creation of work, and instead produced items not in line with their personal values and goals.

4. Implications of research

Findings demonstrate that artistic entrepreneurs operating in the rural sub-regions of Wales use different strategies to achieve a balance between co-existing and conflicting motives. Those who use a Harmonious strategy are most successful, earning up to £40,000 per annum for their creative work, therefore achieving optimum production. Those who use a Reduced strategy are the least successful. This indicates that some rural artistic entrepreneurs are better placed than others to contribute to areas of low economic output.

Based upon annual income, however, rural artistic entrepreneurs achieving optimum production represent just 18% of the rural artistic entrepreneurs identified within this research, while those who are least successful represent 57% of this population (figure 1). This suggests that while some have the ability to contribute to the economy of rural regions, such as Mid and West Wales, the majority pursue this for artistic rather than economic gain as identified previously by the Ripple producer survey (1998) as well as Fillis and McAuley (2005). In this respect, although some artists are capable of achieving greater commercial success than others, their numbers are not significant enough to increase the direct contribution the visual art and crafts sector make to regional development in rural areas. The potential of this sector to contribute to an increase in tourism in rural areas should be noted, however, as an indirect benefit. An example of this can be seen in Cornwall where the economic benefits of cultural tourism is acknowledged in the recent White Paper for Culture (2016) which highlights a 26% increase in growth in the areas of ‘arts, entertainment and recreation’ between 2011-2012. Therefore, while results of this study strengthen the justification for strategies such as in the Wales Spatial Plan (Welsh Assembly Government, 2008) to consider visual art activity from a peripheral perspective only when considering direct economic benefit, indirect benefits such as the contribution made to cultural tourism should also be taken into account.

Data collected from this research does, however, present a possible recommendation to improve the contribution rural artistic entrepreneurs make to the economy of rural regions. While those who demonstrate Disharmonious strategies currently view the need to earn an income as limiting their creativity, the production of creative work remains their main or sole income and they are marginally more financially successful than those who demonstrate reduced strategies. Therefore, supporting these artists to change their perspective of producing saleable work could increase the contribution the visual arts and crafts sector makes to rural economies. The demographic differences seen between the majority of those within the Disharmonious and Harmonious strategies indicate these entrepreneurs are at different stages in their creative work, with those exhibiting Disharmonious strategies being less established than those exhibiting Harmonious ones. Overall, these entrepreneurs make up 43% of the research population. Therefore, taking these findings into account, it is recommended that additional research and support is provided to help those demonstrating a Disharmonious strategy overcome the perception of income as limiting creativity. One possible way of doing this can be observed in the ceramics industry, for example, through schemes such as ‘Adopt a Potter’ (adoptapotter.co.uk, 2017). Organised by Maze Hill Pottery, this charitable scheme offers emerging artists the opportunity to undertake apprenticeships with professional artists, helping them gain the confidence, skills and knowledge to pursue a successful career in ceramics. With government investment this type of scheme, it is suggested, could be applied across the visual arts and crafts sector to guide artists who may be pursuing a Disharmonious strategy to achieve a Harmonious one. Such support is needed to

encourage these entrepreneurs to gain self-fulfilment from creating commercially appealing products, thus increasing the number of financially successful rural artistic entrepreneurs operating in rural regions who, together, would make a more significant contribution to rural economic development.

Conclusion

This research identifies the main motives experienced by rural artistic entrepreneurs and strategies they use to balance artistic and economic tension in the production of creative work. Those who are more financially successful are highlighted as those who are also able to most effectively balance such tensions. While it is possible to maintain creative production without producing work designed for commercial appeal, as shown in the Reduced strategy, in order to operate financially viable enterprises where creative work is the main or sole income rural artistic entrepreneurs must be able to internalise external requirements. This is shown in the Harmonious strategy, where creative work is both satisfying and financially rewarding. Although these artistic entrepreneurs have the potential to contribute towards the economic regeneration of rural regions, this research indicates that there are not enough of them to warrant significant investment by local authorities. Combined with those who experience the Disharmonious strategy, rural artistic entrepreneurs have the potential to achieve this if motivational barriers preventing these artists from seeking commercial success were overcome. The recommendations made in this article indicate institutional support is required to achieve this.

The research limitations include the niche population sample and subjectivity of responses. For example, the size of the population may have had an impact upon the ability to produce reliable data analysis and therefore conclusions drawn from this study may contain unique attributes for those operating within Mid and West Wales. However, this population size is characteristic of other studies involving a niche creative sector, such as those conducted by Paton (2012), and Yarrow and Jones (2014) and the characteristics of this population show similarities to those operating within the same sector in other peripheral regions such as Devon, Cornwall or Cumbria (Scott, 2010).

Future directions for research could include replicating this study in other rural regions within the UK and Europe to identify whether strategies used to balance artistic and economic demands vary across different rural settings. This would build upon findings presented here by identifying whether and where similar approaches are evident, the impact of these upon financial viability and, therefore, the potential contribution these artistic entrepreneurs may make to rural economies. Additional research could also identify the market for visual art and craft produced in rural regions, both in terms of the location for sales, for example whether products are sold at national craft fairs or community events and, also, in terms of consumer demographics. This has a potentially significant impact upon the form and viability of regional development by helping to quantify this sector's contribution to cultural tourism.

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